

REPORT ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

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EGYPT AT CENTER STAGE

By Geoffrey Aronson

The historic popular revolt in Egypt threatens more than the sclerotic regime of President Hosni Mubarak. A “new Middle East”—from Tunis to Baghdad, and from Beirut to Cairo—is emerging, with Washington on the sidelines. In Israel, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has confounded President Barack Obama’s unprecedented, if ill-executed effort to curb settlement expansion. Washington’s energy for confronting Israel on settlements, after what Netanyahu described as eighteen months of “completely useless discussions,” evaporated. All eyes are fixed on Cairo.

In the West Bank, a milestone of a different sort has been reached. The deployment of Israeli troops in the West Bank is at its lowest point since the days before the outbreak of the first intifada in December 1987. Not even during the heady days of the Olso era in the 1990s have Israelis considered their position on the West Bank to be as secure as today. Even the absence of a diplomatic process is viewed as positive by the Israeli security establishment. According to a November 28, 2010 report in *Ha’aretz*, “the Central Command estimates attempts of this sort [i.e. Hamas-led attacks on settlers] will increase if talks are renewed.” Notwithstanding the 10 month construction moratorium, the West Bank settler population increased during 2010 by 4.5 percent or 15,000—to 327,800, a rate more than one and a half times greater than the national rate

The Americans do not have a plan at present. They do not have an outline. They do not have a vision. “We don’t know what we want, because we don’t know what Netanyahu wants,” an administration source said. “If we knew, we would prepare. We would draw up an initiative. But Netanyahu is not willing to tell us what he really wants.”

Nahum Barnea, *Yediot Aharonot*, December 17, 2010

of increase. Another 200,000 Israelis live across the Green Line in East Jerusalem. Israel’s bi-annual budget for 2011–2012 includes more than half a billion dollars in identifiable items for settlements, settler subsidies, and associated infrastructure. According to *Ha’aretz*, however, “most of the settlement budget is hidden in unspecified budget allocations.” The budget includes funds for newer settlements, the so called “outposts,” which Israel has committed to dismantle.

Israel worries about Egypt, but it is complacent about relations with the Palestinians. In his biannual appearance before the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee earlier this year, Netanyahu reiterated a maximalist view of Israel’s territorial aspirations, “It should be remembered,” he said, “that

we, as Jews, have been within the broad borders of the Land of Israel not tens or hundreds of years, but thousands of years. When the Palestinians talk about historic rights, they should remember that they have been there a shorter time. The rights of the Jews to Hebron, Beit El, Rachel’s Tomb and Shilo are greater and much more significant. Therefore these places should remain in our hands in any arrangement.”

Despite declarations to the contrary, the U.S. effort to revitalize talks in the wake of the failure of the settlement freeze effort lacks both content and commitment. Instability in Egypt virtually assures an extended “time out” in U.S. efforts. Even before the uprising in Egypt, Nabil Shaath, a top advisor to Palestinian Authority president Mahmoud Abbas, said that the peace process with Israel was in a “coma.” He described Washington’s proposals as “pointless.”

On this last point at least, Palestinians and Israelis agree. Weeks before the eruption of the historic events in Tunisia and Egypt, *Yediot Aharonot* reported that Netanyahu’s office let it be known “that negotiations with the Palestinians would not be given top priority by the American mediators. The prevalent assessment among [Israeli] decision-makers is that the Obama administration will continue to chatter about its intentions of moving the process forward but will not push the Netanyahu government into a corner and will not pose demands that could endanger the coalition.” ♦

TO OUR READERS

The mass popular uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt are stunning evidence that Middle Easterners are no exception to the trend of modern history that flows toward freedom, democracy, and human dignity. This trend is non-linear and usually messy.

It is much too early to predict whether the Egyptian revolt will bring real reform there, and whether protests elsewhere will succeed. But change is coming, and the leaders of the "security states" that have dominated the region must adapt or confront even greater public alienation and instability. Adapting to this change poses a hard challenge to the U.S., which has been allied with these regimes, for reasons of security and counterterrorism, and in Egypt's case, peace with Israel. Protection of American strategic interests will require closer and more credible identification with the political aspirations of the Arab people, a willingness to engage with Islamists, and more priority to diplomacy as the best means of resolving conflict.

Above all, a new American policy must offer stronger leadership to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the central cause of anti-American hostility and loss of U.S. influence in the region. Our ability to shape broader changes is limited. But resolving this core conflict is within our grasp because of our unique and supportive ties with Israel. The U.S. has failed to use this relationship to persuade Israel to reverse its self-destructive and unjust policies of settlement and occupation of the Palestinians, which are an affront to American values and threaten violence and instability. A comprehensive U.S. plan for a two-state resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should therefore be a centerpiece of a new U.S. Middle East policy that would restore American influence, respond to Arab aspirations, and protect our strategic interests.

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Source: *Ha'aretz*, December 9, 2010

AL-JAZEERA'S PALESTINE PAPERS

In the wake of the September 2009 tripartite summit hosted by U.S. president Barack Obama, U.S. special envoy George Mitchell tried without success to win Israeli and Palestinian agreement on the Terms of Reference (ToRs) for a "relaunch" of direct negotiations. The document below, prepared by the Palestinian Negotiations Support Unit, is an excerpt of minutes of an October 21, 2009 discussion between Mitchell and Palestinian negotiator Sa'eb Erekat, recently released by Al-Jazeera.

GM: . . . This morning, however, we want to have a specific discussion on the ToRs and side letters. We are making efforts to find language that is satisfactory to you. Then we will make an effort to get Israeli agreement. . . . We understand your preference for the 67 and swaps language. Because you told us you accept there will be adjustments—with the so called blocs—that will be offset by benefits to you. We need as straightforward a formulation of that concept as possible:

An independent and viable state encompassing all of the territory that was occupied in 1967 or its equivalent in value.

...
GM: . . . Now we need to think of the context in which this language can occur. Only way is to set the US belief. I emphasize this is not a done deal.

The issue of territory has figured prominently in our discussions.

The US believes that through good faith negotiations the parties can mutually agree on an outcome that achieves both the Palestinian goal of an independent and viable state encompassing all the territory occupied in 1967 or its equivalent in value, and the Israeli goal of secure and recognized borders that reflect subsequent developments and meets Israeli security requirements.

GM: Obviously "subsequent developments" refers to the settlement blocs. We would also stress "mutually agreed." This is as direct and straightforward as we can get. Just so you're clear. . . .

SE: I want to point out I am answering in my personal capacity on these questions. 19 years after the start of the process, it is time for decisions. Negotiations have been exhausted. We have thousands of pages of minutes on each issue. The Palestinians know they will be a country with limitations. They won't be like Egypt or Jordan. They won't have an army, air force or navy, and will have a third party to monitor . . . Palestinians will need to know that 5 million refugees will not go back. The number will be agreed as one of the options. Also the number returning to their own state will depend on annual absorption capacity. There will be an international mechanism for resettling in other countries or in host states, and international mechanism for compensation. All these issues I've negotiated. They need decisions. The same applies to the [swaps] percentage. . . . We offered 2%. They said no. So what's the percentage. You can go back to the document we gave president Obama in May. . . . [The Israelis]

cannot decide if they want two states. They want to keep settling in the areas of my state.

GM: But they will settle more if you continue this way.

SE: Then we announce the one state and the struggle for equality in the state of Israel. . . . You either have a decision for peace or a decision for settlements. You cannot have both. Maybe as people keep saying that we never miss an opportunity to miss an opportunity, but we were never given an opportunity, not my grandparents or my parents, like I am not being given an opportunity.

GM: You've expressed your frustration over the last 19 years. But I tell you there has never been a president on this

issue like this one. You are denying him the opportunity to create the state that you want. By saying one state you are telling him to get out, even though you negotiated with every Israeli government before under different administrations. . . . So give Obama the chance to help.

SE: How can I convince anyone if he could not even deliver a tempo-

rary settlement freeze? It's not up to me to decide your credibility in the Middle East. He has lost it throughout the region. . . .

GM: I have a 6 inch folder on my desk containing all your statements on the settlement freeze, and despite that you negotiated. Now with the first president who wants to make an effort he's being penalized by you.

SE: Not me. He has Netanyahu. He came to Cairo and said full freeze. We will not convert to Judaism, so if [the] Netanyahu charade of two states is followed, it's going to be one state. . . .

GM: We are trying very hard, desperately, to satisfy on '67 language. You're saying not enough. . . .

SE: Settlement freeze is Israel's obligation. . . .

GM: So how do you justify that you had all previous negotiations without the freeze?

SE: A[bu] M[azen] will tell you it was a mistake. Now it's a moment of truth. It's about our future. Watch what's happening around us. We don't want to be finished. AM cannot go back to negotiations with settlements and business as usual. . . .

Al-Jazeera Transparency Unit, The Palestine Papers,
<http://www.ajtransparency.com>

SETTLEMENT TIME LINE

September 1 A Palestinian Authority (PA) official reports settlers bulldozing land to make way for electricity poles near the Shifat Gilad outpost. (Ma'an News)

Israeli civil administration officials sequester three mobile homes that residents of the Elon Moreh settlement had attempted to install. (Ma'an News)

The Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades claim responsibility for a shooting attack on a vehicle east of the Kiryat Arba settlement that left four settlers dead. The group's spokesman, Abu Ubaida, says the attack is the first of a string of planned actions to expose the failure of security coordination between the PA, Fatah, and Israel. Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhum states, "The attack was not meant to impede direct negotiations which failed prior to even starting." (Ynet)

Settlers from Bracha, Itamar, Yitzhar, and nearby outposts hurl stones and Molotov cocktails at Palestinian vehicles traveling between Nablus and Qalqilya. (Ynet, Ma'an News)

The YESHA Council and heads of West Bank settlements announce their intention to break the settlement construction moratorium immediately. The moratorium expires on September 26. (Ynet)

Settlers from Immanuel open fire on three Palestinian teenagers tending crops in Deir Istiya. No one was injured. (Ma'an News)

September 2 The Israel Land Authority publishes tenders for 36 housing units in the Golan settlement of Katzrin. (*TheMarker*)

September 7 Yossi Havilio, legal adviser to the Jerusalem municipality, resigns under pressure from Mayor Nir Barkat after arguing for the court-ordered evacuation of a settler home in the Silwan neighborhood of East Jerusalem. (Ynet)

September 12 Settlers spray the word *revenge* and torch two Palestinian cars in the village of Urif. (Israel Radio)

September 15 Britain's General Union (GMB) decides unanimously not to invest workers' pension funds in companies that produce goods in Israeli settlements. The union will also ask supermarket chains to join the boycott and remove settlement products from their shelves. (Israel Radio)

G[eorge] M[itche]ll explained his view on the limited duration of the moratorium, recognizing that an Israeli renewal of activity after the initial period would spell the end of negotiations. He further defended the approach taken in the package by arguing that under the moratorium no construction will be started. He said the Palestinians may be assuming the worst, which may be justified given the history, but we don't know what things will be like in 12 months.

Meeting Summary, State Department, October 1, 2009

The Neot Hapisga construction firm announces it will resume infrastructure work in preparation for 2,400 new apartments in the Modi'in Illit settlement. All the proposed apartments have been purchased, and 340 were completed before the construction moratorium took effect. The announcement follows the Israeli Defense Ministry's refusal to accept the company's demand for \$5.6 million in purported losses resulting from the moratorium. (*Israel HaYom*)

September 19 The Dutch Foreign Ministry cancels a tour of the Netherlands by Israeli mayors because the group includes representatives from Israeli settlements. MK Aryeh Eldad, a member of the National Union party, says, "The Dutch surrender to the Arabs reflects their surrender to the Muslim minority that is growing steadily in Holland, which itself is an echo to Netanyahu's surrender to Obama regarding the building freeze." (Army Radio, *Ha'aretz*)

September 20 Israel Defense Forces (IDF) soldiers break up a clash between Bracha and Yitzhar settlers and Palestinian residents of Burin village. The settlers claim that the Palestinians had attacked them while tending to their sheep while the Palestinians say that the settlers were harvesting olives from trees that belong to the village. (Ma'an News, Ynet)

Settlers from Kiryat Arba uproot six dunams of grape vines in al-Buera village, near Hebron. (Ma'an News)

Yediot Aharonot reports on plans to place 100 surveillance cameras along West Bank roads

considered highly vulnerable to attacks.

September 21 Israeli minister of national infrastructure Uzi Landau announces that he will give commitments to settlement council leaders to issue building tenders for tens of millions of dollars in anticipation of the end of the settlement construction moratorium. Included in the funds are \$29.5 million to develop water infrastructure in the West Bank to supply 800,000 cubic meters to settlements for agriculture. The plan would also connect Ariel and Barkan to the Israeli sewer system at a cost of \$24.8 million. (Israel Radio)

September 22 Violent clashes erupt between Palestinians and Israeli security forces in the Silwan neighborhood in east Jerusalem following the shooting deaths of two Palestinians by two settler security guards in the area. (*al-Quds*, Ma'an News)

September 26 The ten-month settlement construction moratorium expires. (*Yediot Aharonot*)

IDF soldiers shoot and seriously injure a Palestinian participating in a peaceful anti-settlement rally along the northern border of Gaza. Hours later, Palestinians fire at and injure a pregnant Israeli woman and her husband driving near the Tene settlement. (Ma'an News)

The Israeli High Court of Justice rules in favor of settler groups' claims to a large plot of land in the Sheikh Jarrah neighborhood in East Jerusalem. The settlers, having been successful in convincing the court that they own the land, will be able to initiate proceedings for the eviction of dozens of Palestinian families living there. (*Ha'aretz*)

September 27 Israeli transportation minister Yisrael Katz announces plans for a \$5.5 million road from the Kiryat Arba settlement to Hebron. (Israel Radio)

Ma'ariv reports on Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's decision to award priority planning status to a 155-megawatt wind farm planned for the Golan Heights.

October 3 Border police shoot a 37-year-old man from Hebron attempting to enter Israel near Issawiya, in East Jerusalem. Knesset member Ahmed Tibi releases the following statement in response: "Once again, Israeli police and border police shoot Arabs and kill them in cold blood; this time we're talking about the father of a large

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family who tried to get into Jerusalem to look for work for his livelihood. Once again we are going to hear that same false automatic claim that the Palestinian tried to steal the border policeman's gun. . . . Will the top command of the police stand behind the shooter this time too?" (nana10.co.il)

Arutz 7 reports on the resumption of construction in the East Jerusalem settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev, with bulldozers and tractors beginning preliminary work for 270 new housing units. It also reports the Israel Lands Authority as having sold 11 plots in East Jerusalem settlements for construction of 479 additional housing units.

October 4 In Beit Fajjar, near the Etzion bloc, settlers set fire to rugs in a mosque and spray slogans on the walls in Hebrew, including the word *revenge*. (Army Radio)

October 5 Transportation Minister Katz announces plans to build a network of train lines in the West Bank to connect settlements to metropolitan Israel. (*TheMarker*)

October 9 A right-wing activist runs over two Palestinian boys with his car while they are demonstrating in Silwan. The driver claims the accident was inadvertent. (*Ha'aretz*)

October 11 *Yediot Aharonot* reports on a number of incidents in the opening days of the olive harvest, which began October 7: Palestinian farmers from Farata and Jit find their 200 olive trees picked clean. The head of the nearby Havat Gilad outpost rejects accusations by the farmers that settlers had picked the olives and countercharges that Palestinians had uprooted olive trees and stolen a water pipeline belonging to the outpost. North of Ramallah, settlers were reported to have destroyed 100 olive trees in the town of Turmus-Aya by inserting poison in the tree trunks through drilled holes. IDF officials say they "will take all necessary action to allow Palestinians to pick down to the last olive." Another military official called settler harassment and vandalism of Palestinian trees "disgraceful."

October 12 *Ma'ariv* reports the decision by Unilever to close its Beigel & Beigel pretzel factory in the settlement of Barkan and transfer operations to Israel.

October 13 Israeli security forces demolish three structures in the Maoz Esther outpost. (Army Radio)

S[aeb] E[rekat] explained that the concern over East Jerusalem's [exclusion from the moratorium] is ultimately political. If we turn a blind eye to such an arrangement, this will have devastating consequences on the PA and Palestinian leadership. . . .

G[eorge] M[itche]ll replied that with regard to construction [in East Jerusalem] there is no way, even if we engage with the Israelis till doomsday. . . .

Meeting Summary, State Department, October 1, 2009

October 14 The Israeli Housing Ministry and the Israel Lands Authority issue tenders for the construction of 158 new units in the Jerusalem settlement of Ramot and 80 units in nearby Pisgat Ze'ev. There are an additional 360 units slated for construction in East Jerusalem that have been postponed due to U.S. pressure. (*Yediot Aharonot*)

October 19 *Ha'aretz* reports on a bill sponsored by Knesset member Gideon Ezra of Kadima that would ban Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem from serving as tour guides in the city. Hundreds of Palestinians would be out of work if the bill were to pass.

Israel's High Court of Justice criticizes the Israeli government for failing to enforce warrants served to demolish illegal construction in West Bank settlement outposts. (*Ha'aretz*)

October 20 Following the demolition by Israeli security forces of four structures in the Bat Ayin B outpost, settlers torch and vandalize property at a Palestinian school in Sawiya. (Army Radio)

In the Dutch city of Dordrecht, police raid the offices of Riwal, a construction equipment company, as part of an investigation into its suspected role in erecting the separation fence in Israel. (*Makor Rishon-Hatzofe*)

October 21 In the three weeks since the settlement construction moratorium ended, work is reported to have begun on 544 new residences in West Bank settlements. Settler council leaders report that the rate of construction is four times faster than in the two years prior. Settler leaders have ignored requests by the civil administration to report weekly on building permits. (Army Radio)

October 24 The Israeli state prosecutor's office informs the High Court of Justice that eviction the dismantling of the Amona outpost will be postponed. Palestinians had filed a petition to the court in 2008 requesting its demolition. (*Yediot Aharonot*)

The Israeli Ministerial Committee for Legislation approves a bill that would provide a series of economic benefits to Jerusalem residents in an effort to entice young Israelis to move to the city. If approved, the bill would make Jerusalem a national priority area. (*Ha'aretz*)

TheMarker reports on an agreement for economic cooperation under which the United States would supply Israel with loan guarantees of \$3.48 billion through 2012.

October 26 Untreated runoff from factories in the Elon Moreh settlement kills 660 olive trees in Deir al-Hatab. Gershon Mesika, director of the Shomron regional council and a resident of Elon Moreh, says, "The true culprits of this environmental vandalism, spilling raw sewage into the environment in the area, are the residents of neighboring Arab villages who lack purifying systems." The mayor of Deir al-Hatab says that 60 percent of the residents rely almost entirely on income from the olive harvest. (Ma'an News)

October 28 *Ha'aretz* reports that buses leased from a settlement-based company had been used to transport participants during the annual tourism conference of the Organisation for European Co-operation and Development. The gathering had almost been canceled because of the decision to hold it in Jerusalem. Several members boycotted the event.

October 31 Democratic U.S. senator Chuck Schumer delivers a speech at a breakfast for Agudath Yisrael in New York in which he states, "The reason we don't have peace in the Middle East is because a large percentage, I would say a majority . . . of Palestinians and Arabs do not believe there should be a Jewish state anywhere in the Middle East." He describes the Obama administration's position on settlements as "counterproductive" and says he feels that "anyone who thinks settlements are the cause of the problem, all they have to do is look at Gaza. Israel withdrew from Gaza completely, and what was the response? Missiles on Sderot!" (Arutz 7)

EU REPRESENTATIVES CALL FOR EUROPEAN OFFENSIVE ON JERUSALEM

On January 10, 2011 the heads of 25 European Union missions based in East Jerusalem and Ramallah submitted to the EU Political and Security Committee the Jerusalem Report 2010 that included a series of recommendations (Annex 2), reproduced below.

[Annex 2]

East Jerusalem as the future Palestinian capital

1) In conformity with the objectives of the Strategic Multi-sector Development Plan for East Jerusalem, promote a coordinated approach and a coherent Palestinian strategy towards East Jerusalem.

2) Promote the establishment of a PLO focal point/representative in East Jerusalem.

3) National or Europe Day events to be held in East Jerusalem (when suitable at Palestinian institutions).

4) EU missions with offices or residences in East Jerusalem to regularly host Palestinian officials with senior EU visitors.

5) Avoid having Israeli security and/or protocol accompanying high ranking officials from Member States when visiting the Old City/East Jerusalem.

6) Prevent/discourage financial transactions from EU M[ember] S[tate] actors supporting settlement activity in East Jerusalem, by adopting appropriate EU legislation.

7) Compile non-binding guidelines for EU tour operators to prevent support for settlement business in East Jerusalem (e.g. hotels, bus operators, archaeological sites controlled by pro-settler organisations etc).

8) Ensure that the EU-Israel Association Agreement is not used to allow the export to the EU of products manufactured in settlements in East Jerusalem.

9) Raise public awareness about settlement products, for instance by providing guidance on origin labelling for settlement products to major EU retailers.

10) Inform EU citizens of financial risks involved in purchasing property in occupied East Jerusalem.

Reopening of Palestinian institutions in East Jerusalem

1) Highlight the reopening, as stipulated in the Road Map, of Palestinian institutions in high level meetings with Israeli representatives, as well as in the EU and Quartet discussions and statements.

2) Host Palestinian Jerusalem civil society events in cultural offices, consulates and diplomatic residences until institutions are reopened.

3) Explore the use of Palestinian institutions to promote joint EU-PLO interests. . . .

Religious and cultural dimension of the city

1) Support and encourage inter-faith dialogue in Jerusalem.

2) Encourage Arab countries to acknowledge the multicultural dimension of Jerusalem, including its Jewish and

Christian heritage.

3) Engage in informing (e.g. web sites etc) EU citizens undertaking visits on the political situation in East Jerusalem.

Strengthen the role of the European Union

1) Enhance local coordination between Quartet actors for input into policy making and decisions.

2) Ensure EU presence when there is a risk of demolitions or evictions of Palestinian families.

3) Ensure EU presence at Israeli court cases on house demolitions or evictions of Palestinian families.

4) Ensure EU intervention when Palestinians are arrested or intimidated by Israeli authorities for peaceful cultural, social or political activities in East Jerusalem.

5) Operationalise the EU policy on bringing high level visitors to sensitive sites (e.g. separation barrier etc).

— on logistics for high level visitors (e.g. choice of hotel, change of transport East/West)

— on contacts with the Jerusalem Mayor and on refraining from meeting Israeli officials in their East Jerusalem offices (e.g. in the Israeli Ministry of Justice etc)

— on information sharing on violent settlers in East Jerusalem to assess whether to grant entry into the EU. ♦

Barak Claimed Secret Accord with the United States Permitting Natural Growth of Settlements

In a June 22, 2009, cable released by Wikileaks, a U.S. embassy official in Paris reports the following:

MFA Middle East Director [assistant secretary equivalent] Patrice Paoli informed POL Minister Counselor June 18 that Israeli Defense Minister Ehud Barak told French officials in Paris June 15 that the Israelis have a “secret accord” with the USG to continue the “natural growth” of Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Paoli noted that the French anticipate strong Israeli resistance to USG pressure on this issue. He asked whether the USG has considered how to adapt to possible Israeli responses: “How will you react to Israeli reactions to your pressure?” He claimed that “the credibility of President Obama will be judged on the issue of settlements.” MFA DAS Ludovic Pouille, who also attended the meeting, underlined this point: “Arabs are saying progress on settlements is crucial. Saudi Arabia and Egypt seem obsessed with the settlements issue; they won’t even enter the game without progress on settlements.” Paoli added that “negotiations can wait until the fall, but steps forward cannot wait until then.” Both diplomats emphasized the need to build confidence measures on the ground now. ♦

SETTLEMENT FACTS

West Bank Settlements—Sources of Population Growth, 2009

Year	Total	Natural Increase	Internal Migration	Immigrants	Total Growth
2009	296,700	10,600	3,800	900	14,900
2008	290,400	9,700	3,900	700	14,000
2007	276,100	9,200	4,900	800	14,500
2006	261,600	8,600	5,100	900	14,400
2005	247,300	8,100	3,300	1,100	12,200
2004	243,900	8,000	3,600	900	12,100
2003	231,800	7,700	3,400	900	11,600

West Bank Families by Type and Size, 2009

Total	Couples without Children (%)	Families with Children		
		Total (%)	Children under Age 17 (%)	Average Persons per Family
61,800	15.1	84.8	55.9	4.5

West Bank Settlers by Age, 2009

Age	Number	Percentage
0 to 4	49,900	17
5 to 14	70,000	24
15 to 19	24,300	8
20 to 24	24,700	9
25 to 29	23,100	8
30 to 34	19,900	7
35 to 44	30,300	10
45 to 54	23,200	8
55 to 64	15,300	5
65 to 74	5,600	2
75+	2,900	1
Total population	289,200	100

West Bank Settler Population by Origin, 2009*

	Total	Born in Israel	Born Abroad			
			Total	Asian countries	African countries	Europe/United States
West Bank	282,600	237,600	45,000	3,600	6,000	35,400
Israel	5,656,300	4,032,600	1,623,700	205,100	316,500	1,102,200

* Excluding East Jerusalem.

Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, 2000 and 2010.

West Bank and Gaza Settler Population by Origin, 1999*

	Total	Born in Israel	Born Abroad				
			Total	Immigrated since 1990	Asian countries	African countries	Europe/United States
West Bank	177,900	137,400	40,600	21,100	3,300	5,600	31,700
Israel	5,000,600	3,078,800	1,921,800	855,100	239,500	321,400	1,361,000

* Excluding East Jerusalem.

Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, 2000 and 2010.

West Bank Immigrants by Year and Country of Last Residence, 2007–009*

	Former Soviet Union		United Kingdom		France		Argentina		United States		Total	
	West Bank	Israel	West Bank	Israel	West Bank	Israel	West Bank	Israel	West Bank	Israel	West Bank	Israel
2009	138	6,819	39	708	87	1,557	5	284	325	2,473	675	14,572
2008	109	5,616	7	505	51	1,562	0	188	249	2,022	484	13,699
2007	95	6,506	31	562	102	2,335	5	319	284	2,094	581	18,131

* Excluding East Jerusalem.

Source: Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Yearbook of Jerusalem*, 2000 and 2010.

YESHA COUNCIL PUSHING AHEAD WITH MASSIVE CONSTRUCTION AGENDA

Since the end of September, when the partial moratorium on construction in West Bank settlements ended, there has been a massive amount of illegal building in the settlements. The construction effort is extensive, in well-established communities and illegal outposts alike, and is being led by Amana, the settlement branch of the Yesha Council of Settlements. Yesha Council leaders recently stopped taking Israeli leaders on community tours because construction has been renewed without the proper permits.

By the end of December according to Peace Now, at least 1,712 new housing units were under construction. Most of these units have permits from Israeli authorities. An additional 13,000 units have been approved.

"We haven't seen illegal building of this magnitude since

2002," said left-wing activist Dror Etkes, who monitors illegal building in the territories. "[Like] in the previous wave eight years ago, Amana is leading the construction."

The Civil Administration's focus on enforcement in other areas has resulted [in] a lack of enforcement of the construction freeze on Amana's building sites. The agency recently demolished a memorial to a fallen soldier in Elon Moreh. A few days before the administration destroyed a goat shed at Meshek Ahiya and a road in the Kana River Wadi funded by the Palestinian Authority. Last week it demolished 11 Palestinian buildings in Hirbet Tana, east of Nablus.

Chaim Levinson, "With Freeze Over, Yesha Council Spearheading Massive Boom in Illegal Construction in Settlements and Outposts," *Ha'aretz*, December 13, 2010

G[eorge M[itche]ll]: The reality is: No negotiation is not in your interest. So we are trying to come up with a statement to give you a ladder to climb down on this issue. . . . Now you are arguing over the colour of the ladder. . . .

S[aeb] E[rekat]: I remember Obama telling all of us—the Arab and Muslim world in his speech in Cairo—about a full settlement freeze.

GM: You guys are now trying to come up with a history that Obama somehow invented the freeze. You and the Arabs have been calling for a freeze long before Obama. He did not pull it out of the air and impose it!

SE: You wrote it in your report [The Mitchell Report].

GM: You established it as a precondition. We tried very hard, and we know what you think of us because we failed. . . .

SE: . . . If this is what we have, then we will no longer be talking about two states, but one state. . . . The ladder is 2 states on the 67 border with agreed swaps. I am saying agreed—so Israel has a veto. I need something to take back as the end game. I remind you that my "ticket" as a partner in the peace process was to recognize Israel on the 67

border—remember [Secretary of State James] Baker's words . . . standing shoulder to shoulder . . . now you're asking me to negotiate which part of 67 will be in the state? Israel violates all aspects of international law and the Geneva Conventions over decades, so I resort to swaps—a new idea—for the sake of peace and the two state solution. Maybe after I join the Zionist movement, recognize the Jewish state and agree to a state on 40% [of the West Bank] they will agree. That will not happen.

GM: What you just said is the best argument for taking up this text. President Obama is not like previous administrations. In US politics there never was and there never will be a president as determined to resolve this conflict. So you can argue over words and delay indefinitely, so you lose the most important thing—this opportunity: the presence of a US president completely committed to achieving the objective you want. . . . However . . . the solution has to be agreed between the two parties. If you think Obama will force the option you've described, you are seriously misreading him.

Meeting Minutes, Saeb Erekat and George Mitchell, October 2, 2009

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